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twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from .nkai'a, near Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[31]

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POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[32] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[31] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.
[32] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

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In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutɛme'xᵘ, Nekɛtɛme'ux̣) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa.

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 2[illegible]–205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

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least about ten thousand.[266] It is also hard to give the exact population of these tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except that of the Nekɛtemē'ux tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[267]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

[266] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[267] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

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passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

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in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 167 197 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tənai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[29] At this 131 721

[29] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[19] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[20]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[21]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kɛtux or Shă'kɛtux.[22] Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[23] The Columbia Salish claim, further, that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .s.nkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

[19] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[20] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[21] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[22] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

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...ion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[23] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[24] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[25] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake.

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The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

[23] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.
[24] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.
[25] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

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parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy.

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[88] During my conversations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweé'tca, or Kwoié'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers.

[88] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

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The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[87] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[88] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[89] regarding

[87] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[88] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[89] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunâ'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunâ'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

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Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of th se people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Ya'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmĕ'uɣ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

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place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x, tai'x!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoqualmie Falls.[*] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtemē'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[*] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pewa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pewa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Tɛxaidek or Tɛxai'nɛk (chief)	Tóxei'.nɛk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tsɛlɛxkai'nɛm	Tsɛlĕ.xkai'nɛm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cɛlɛkqai'n	Sɛlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'sɛmkɛn	Zu'sɛmkɛn[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'sɛmkɛn (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolɛk	Zā'xɛlɛk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nɛmkɛn (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nɛmkɛn or Zanɛmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkɛni'tsa (the youngest)	Mẹx.kaini'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wɛtskɛla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

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The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwi'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekɛɛmē'ux; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake.

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -l'nɛk, -qai'n, -kɛn, and -ltsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tɛtl, stl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

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extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon, then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[48] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatē'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

[48] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-*Tond'ps* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-*Tond'ps* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

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rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Palous countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

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INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɤmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*. The Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɤmte'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with